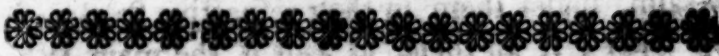


1477 dd. 24.



REMARKS

Occasion'd by the

Plain Reasoner, &c.



[Price One Shilling.]

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Occasion'd by the

Plain Reasoner :

Particularly by the

NATIONAL ASSERPTIONS

of the same

AUTHOR.

In a LETTER



L O N D O N

Printed for M. Cooper, at the Globe in
Peter-nghet-Road, 1742

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Plain Reasoner :

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NATIONAL ASPERSIONS
of that PAMPHLET.

In a LETTER to the AUTHOR.



L O N D O N :

Printed for M. COOPER, at the Globe in
Pater-noster-Row. 1745.



Plain Recorder:
REMARKS

NATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS

of Great Britain &c.

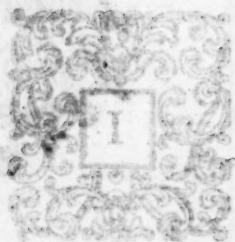
Plain Recorder.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE PLAIN RECORDER.



SIR,

A.M. in old W. and a true
one, certainly a Friend
to the Editors of Britain
and of Europe. As such
desires to direct the At-



determined to support the Power of the
and just as heartily attached to the present
happy & flourishing in their Kingdoms as
I am heartily anxious for the continuance of
the same.



REMARKS

ON THE

Plain Reasoner.

SIR,



AM an old *Whig*, and a true one: consequently, a Friend to the Liberties of *Britain*, and of *Europe*: As such, desirous to detect the Arts, determin'd to oppose the Power of *France*: and just as heartily attach'd to the present happy Establishment in these Kingdoms, as I am heartily zealous for the Continuance of those

those Blessings which it was framed to preserve; and for guarding against the Return of those Evils which it alone can prevent. Thus far I know that I meet you on equal Terms, whatever Stamp of Dignity you wear, whatever Depth of Politics you boast, whatever Degree of public Spirit you breathe: Nor shou'd I fear thus to address myself to you in this Capacity; were you either exalted to the Height, or discharg'd from the Burden of Ministerial Power itself; were you one, *who had suffer'd yourself to break thro' a peaceful Calm to engage in the Storms and Tempests of State; to leave the Halcyon Repose on the soft verdant variegated Bank immur'd by whistling Reeds and pointed Sedge, guarded by Meander's gentle Stream, to live like the Petterel in one continued Tempest, from which you are at length happily escap'd; --- were you one of those great Genius's who has experienc'd the Impossibility of governing a People actuated by nothing but Absurdities, and fit for nothing but Wooden Shoes.*

Severe

Severe Censures, and very just ones, have pass'd on those Reflections which are directed against the Person of the Prince. Let them pass as impartially on those which are levell'd at the Body of the People. The one is made sacred but for the Sake of the other; and if every Attack on him implies an Aggravation of Guilt, it is because that Attack affects the whole Body, which necessarily sympathizes with its principal Member. Our *Saxon* Ancestors were highly sensible of this, with whom Offences against their Sovereign, as they were distinct in their Nature, so were they inferior in their Guilt to Offences against the Public, and that only was *Lese Majesty*, which was a Crime against the Community. Sir, the national Character of his Country is as dear to every good Citizen, as private Reputation is to every Individual. A Libel on the Public is as much viler than one on a private Person, as the Dignity and Importance of the one is superior to that of the other. You justly call one of the bright-

est

est modern *Esprits* of France an *impudent Scribler*, for aspersing us with the Imputation of a national Degeneracy, from our Ancestors of a Century past, equal to that of the modern Monks of Rome from the old Romans. And not only the Herd of French Sriblers, but even Mezeray himself has been justly stigmatiz'd for his *Invectives* against our Country. Abuse is indeed the common Motive and Mark of little Minds; as it usually betrays an equal Meanness of Spirit and of Malice, and is often shewn in an impotent vindictive Bitterness, resulting from Disappointment and Despair. I may with particular Propriety address myself to you on this Subject, because National Abuse is the wildest Solecism that an Assertor of National Honour can commit, a *Libel on the People*, the grossest Absurdity which a *Plain Reasoner* with them can be ever guilty of. Whether a dogmatical and peremptory Assertion of Paradoxes be indeed *Simplicity of reasoning*, any more than a ranting Fustian *Simplicity of Style*, may admit of Doubt,--- But, to consider with how accurate

accurate a Distribution you have canton'd
 out the People of *England*, and with how
 just a Stamp you have characteriz'd them :
 You are pleas'd (a) to divide this Body into
 three Parts, making the first, which con-
 tains no less a Proportion than *nine Parts*
in ten of the Whole, to consist of *Gudgeons* ;
 the second of such as are *discontented in all*
Changes, their Hearts lying chiefly at Rome ;
 the third of the *Landed Men*, bubbled into
 a Belief, *that a War with France must be*
at their Expence ; and that the Weight of
 the public Debt *on their Estates*, the Cir-
 cumstances of the Case, and the indisputable
Gratitude and Honour of France render it
 utterly unreasonable. The one Class is, I
 presume, to pass for direct Fools and Asses,
 the other for determin'd *Jacobites* ; and I
 must acknowledge, that the Distinction of
 the third from the first implies a Difference,
 which, (according to this Description,) I
 want Acuteness clearly to discern. So that
 it shou'd appear, from this National Cha-
 racter, that the *Disaffected* are the only
 B Men

(a) *Plain Reasener*, p. 4 & 5.

Men in their Senses amongst us: A Remnant, I shou'd hope, too inconsiderable to leave it impracticable for a great Genius to govern us.

As nothing can throw so great a Light on the Conduct as the Character of particular Men: So the public Character of a People must greatly contribute to illustrate public Measures, to explain the Rectitude and Propriety of them, the Difficulties attending, and the Obstacles rais'd against them; and it will hence follow, that much of your *plain reasoning* will depend on the Truth and Justice of that public Character which you have drawn. Shou'd it appear, that of the People of this Country *nine Parts in ten* are some Degrees superior to *Gudgeons*, that of the remaining *Tenth* the *Hearts* of one Half are by no Means at *Rome*, nor the Heads of the other at the Mercy of every Gust to divert them from all that Sense and Reason can suggest, and drive them into all that Madness and Absurdity can produce, many of your Conclusions

clusions must be invalidated. Many *vulgar Arguments* may appear to deserve a different Censure from yours, and the *System* which you wou'd substitute to contain less *Reason* and true *Policy* than what you are pleas'd to assert.

That the Vanity of an impertinent *Frenchman*, or the Disgust of a stupid *Hannoverian*, shou'd draw us in ridiculous or odious Colours, is not unaccountable: But what can prompt a *Briton* to copy so vile a Portrait of his Country, is much more amazing. We may endure to be represented as a Nation of Clod-pated Pudding-eaters by *Sorbiere*, to be call'd a Herd of *Wolves* by *Patin*, or whatever he pleases by Capt. *I——n*; but do not so exquisitely relish the civil Terms of *Fools* and *Gudgeons*, from a dogmatical Politician at home. General Reflections of all Kinds are commonly no less ridiculous than odious. Human Nature is universally *human*, and in every Age and Country; as well as universally liable to be affected by those

Incidents, to which at different *Times* and in different *Situations* it may be expos'd; and from them only are its different Appearances to be accounted for. Look back on the Orators, Philosophers, and free Citizens of *Antient Greece*: Compare them with the modern Slaves to *Turkish* Tyranny. Look on the *Brutus's*, the *Cato's*, and *Cicero's* of *Rome*: Compare them with the modern Monks of *Italy*, or the mercenary Minstrels, and emasculated Singers on the Stages of *Europe*. The Cause of the different Spirit of each is obvious; habitual Freedom animated the one, habitual Slavery has enervated the other. The People of a free Country have Freedom to lose, they have Rights and Properties at stake: They will therefore be jealous of the Arts of Courts and the Encroachments of Power: They will endeavour to expose the Frauds of Ministerial Craft, as well as to resist the force of Sovereign Influence. The Cause of a *Constitution* founded in *Public Interest*, will alarm and excite Public Spirit: The Love of his Country will warm and actuate every

every *Member* of it. The Slaves of Despotic Government have *properly* no *Country*. Absolute Dominion annuls *public Society*, and is inconsistent with the Idea of it. It is founded on the Destruction of all social Compact, all civil Interest and *Community*; while every other political Relation is swallowed up in the great *Leviathan* of *Power*. If then the Objects of *social Affections* and *public Spirit* be destroyed, the Passions themselves are so far eradicated. Human Nature, which is vigilant, jealous, active in a state of Civil Freedom, will be languid, indolent and supine in a state of Slavery. The Principles of Tameness and servile Obedience will be the Mark of *French* and of *German Vassals*; the Principles of Liberty and Resistance the Characteristic of *English Freemen*. Jealousy indeed in public as well as private Life may be founded in Mistake: Opposition may be carried to extreme: But the Principles themselves will operate both in Communities and Individuals agreeably to the respective Circumstances

cumstances and Situations of either : And the Inconveniences or Evils resulting from them will prove at best very uncertain Evidences either of the Disposition of Particulars, or of the *public Genius* and *Character*.

Sir, human Nature is, as I have observ'd, the same in this Country that it is in others : That is, at best, frail and fallible. The People do no doubt often egregiously mistake : The Court, and the Demagogues, do often egregiously impose on them, and take advantage of those Mistakes, perhaps the very same which they have artfully instill'd into them : The State may sometimes form a wrong Judgment, and the People a Right one. The Sense of the *English* Nation may be misguided, but it is not obliterated. They are a Nation of *Men*, but not a Herd of *Idiots* ; and all this will amount to no more than *Est ubi peccat*. It was the open Declaration of a great Man (to whom you, Sir, are possibly not unknown) on a late

late Occasion, in a certain august Assembly, that the People of *England* seldom judg'd wrong upon a true State of the Case : Public Measures appear'd to them in a wrong Light, they therefore condemn'd them : They might at another Period (which he doubted not) be set in a True one, they wou'd then assuredly applaud what they were now induc'd to decry. This Remark was just and conclusive. The Author of it best knows the Sincerity with which he made it; and it is left to you to reconcile it with the National Character which you have drawn.

Sir, good Sense, tho' not Infallibility, as well as good Nature (a Term peculiar to our Language) is an indubitable ingredient of our National Character. An ingenious and impartial Foreigner * observes, that as Liberty is the Source of the many extraordinary Characters among the *English*, so it likewise gives them a Freedom of Thoughts

† *Mural's* Letters on the *English* and *French* Nations.

Thoughts and Sentiments, which does not a little contribute to their Good Sense ; wherein, says he, they are *distinguish'd*, generally speaking, from most *other Nations*. You perhaps judge of the Public Sense as Poet Bays does of Wit, by the Judgment pass'd on your own Performance, or the Concurrence shewn to your own Applause. The impartial World perhaps may use a different Standard ; and no more convict the *English* Nation of epidemical Stupidity for the Disgust it has lately conceiv'd at some of your Friends, than for the Contempt your Readers shew at most of your *plain Reasons*.

But we are made *the Laughing Stock* of our Neighbours by our adherence to *that ridiculous Adage* Vox Populi Vox Dei, which is saying in other Words, God Delights in Confusion and Nonsense, p. 3. Perhaps, Sir, your Censure of the Maxim is as groundless as that of the People. Those Words imply the coercive Prevalence of the *public Sense*, not the absolute Infallibility of

of the *public Voice*; that the general Suffrage will irresistibly prevail in a free Government (as constitutionally it ought;) not that the general *Judgment* must be inevitably right; a Superiority resulting not from any moral or intellectual Sufficiency inherent in the Mass of the People, but from the *civil Rights* of the public Body, and the political Tendency of its Influence. *As the End of Government* (says Sir William Temple) *seems to be Salus Populi, so the Strength of the Government is the Consent of the People; which made that Maxim of Vox Populi Vox Dei, that is* (not that "God delights in " Confusion and Nonsense," but that) *the Governors who are few, will ever be forced to follow the Strength of the Governed, who are many, let them be either People or Armies by which they govern.†*

But what wou'd you understand by the People? surely not the Dregs of the Rabble. What by the *People's Voice*? undoubtedly not the Hoot of a Mob, not the Clamours

C

† *Essay on popular Discontent.*

of a Faction, or the Dictates of a Ring-Leader. *An tu populum Romanum esse illum putas, qui constat ex iis qui mercede conducuntur?—O speciem dignitatemque populi Romani ! Multitudinem hominum ex facinorosis, ex egentibus congregatam !*

Sir, the *Vox Populi* is the general Call from the general Sense of the Community : as such it justly demands all the Deference which Princes and Magistrates can and ought to pay to a *superior Voice* ; and consequently in every free Constitution, not subject to an immediate *Theocracy*, must be substituted for, and therefore may be consider'd as the *Voice of Heaven*. In this Sense, is there either Absurdity or Indecency in what you are pleased to stile that ridiculous Adage *Vox Populi vox Dei* ? If *Salus Populi* be *Suprema Lex*, 'tis a necessary Consequence that *Vox Populi* is *Suprema Vox*. I should indeed be less surpris'd to find the Author of the *Plain Reasoner* dispute both Maxims, than to see him reconcile the supposed Absurdity of the one with the acknowledged Truth of the other.

But

But if the embracing of either as a self-evident and fundamental Political Truth, be no Evidence that nine Parts in ten of the People be downright *Gudgeons*, he will most certainly be at a Loss for one more weighty and conclusive to support his Charge against one half of the Remainder, that their discontented *Hearts* lye chiefly at *Rome*.

There is no other Medium thro' which the Principles of Men can be seen, but their Practices. It may therefore appear as weak to defend, as it is rash to traduce the secret Springs and Affections of their *Hearts*. But when Affection is the Result of Persuasion, its Reality and its Degree may be in great Measure discoverable. For the Prevalence of Doctrines admits of Notoriety, tho' not the Propensity of Dispositions; and the Knowledge of Men's political Faith must lead to that of their political Attachments. *Jacobitism in the Heart* can proceed from nothing in Nature, but *Jacobite* Notions in the Head, a sincere Adherence to the

original Principles of the Party, the passive and the non-resisting Doctrines, the Belief of a Character absolutely and *indelibly* sacred in Princes, and a Right hereditary, indefeasible and divine, to Crowns. Let us then enquire into the Prevalence of these Notions. They are as utterly banish'd from the *Political*, as the System of *Epicycles* and *Eccentrics* is from the *Physical* Creed of every Set of Men amongst us. There is not the Remnant subsisting which argues from them, nor the Cause that is supported by them. I shall not affirm that there are not a dozen or a score Persons surviving in the Kingdom, who have not surmounted the Prejudices of an unhappy Education, which has rivetted them to Bigottry of any kind, or that political Enthusiasm is extinguish'd beyond the Possibility of ever breaking out again, any more than religious. But never was there an Age that discover'd less Frenzy of the former Sort, how successfully soever the *regenerated* Spirit of the latter has of late been excited. Just Notions of the Foundation and Design of Govern-

Government were never so popular as in the present Age, and *Anti-Revolutional Principles* are as great Prodigies in any Man of liberal Knowledge, as an Adherence to the wildest Absurdity that stands exploded in any Branch of Science. So strongly is that Observation in Tully verify'd, that groundless Opinions, *Opinionum commenta*, wear out, or decay of themselves, in length of time. I cannot but think that *Rapin Thoyras's History*, French-man and Party-man as that Writer is, has not a little contributed to diffuse just Notions of our Constitution and Government amongst the Masses of the People, the Manner of its Publication, as well as the Spirit and Reputation of the Work, having so universally dispersed it.

But if it is not *Principle*, which makes Men *Jacobites* at this Day, is it *Interest*? Interest which inclines their Hearts to the desperate Cause of an unfortunate Person exiled, attainted, and abjur'd; abandon'd by every other State in *Europe*, and driven to *Rome* for

for Refuge and Protection? Some of these Considerations may perhaps excite Compassion to a Person, but they will never gain Concurrence to a Cause. I may pity a Man whose greatest Crime possibly is, that he was born a *Prince*, or, if you please, that he has been train'd up from his Infancy in a rooted Assurance of being so born; but shall not therefore assist his vain and groundless Pretensions to be a King. I am confident, Sir, that you will not expect me to enter into a more explicit Proof that personal Affection to the *Pretender*, Dependence upon, or Expectation from him, does by no means influence the Hearts of any Set of Men in this Kingdom: A Charge which if brought, I must regard as one of that Stamp, *quod ne refelli quidem serio debet; quod qui facit, videtur vereri ne quis id credat.*

And if there can be so little Attachment to the present *Pretender*, either from Principle, Interest, or personal Regard, much less can there be expected to any future one. Unless
there

there be some secret Magic in the Cause of a chimerical Pretension to the *British* Crown, that, unlike every other Cause in Nature, the more desperate it is, and the more immediately its Decay approaches, the more numerous and more vigorous Supports does it produce. Every Consideration of Relation to our Country, and the Blood of our Kings, will operate with still weaker Force (admitting it yet capable of operating with any) in every Degree of Descent; and those *Hearts* which are incapable of inclining to the Father, will be still farther from any Inclination towards the Children.

Will you say, Sir, that all this is *Hypothesis* against Fact? What Colour, what Shadow of Fact can be alledged against it? We can remember the Times when a *Spirit* of *Jacobitism*, vain and impotent as it then was, was yet discernible in the People. When on the Alarm of a foreign Force preparing to assist the Efforts of that Party at Home, our Government has had at least moral Assurance of *domestic Plots* and *Conspiracies*,
and

and by securing the very Persons concern'd in them, has more than once smother'd such Designs in their Birth. We have seen within the current Year such an Attempt from abroad renew'd ; an Attempt meditated by the Perfidy, and which must have been executed by the Power of *France*. What *domestic* Spirit appeared on that Occasion, when a numerous Force of *French*, *Scots* and *Irish*, with a young *Chevalier de St. George* at their Head, threatned our Coasts? It is recent and notorious. I do not lay any Weight on the Froth and Fustian of Addresses, penn'd perhaps by those who never sign'd, and sign'd by those who never read them ; though the *Readiness* and cordial *Unanimity* which appear'd even in these deserves Notice ; but was there a single Individual in *Britain* of any Party, Denomination, or Profession whatsoever, who appeared even *conscious* of any Design against the Government? *Affuredly* not. I will not except those *two only Persons* (the one a noble L—d, the other a Commoner) whom the Vigilance of the State thought it expedient to take any Cogni-

zance of at that Juncture. And is this the Spirit and Temper of a People amongst whom there are so many discontented Hearts, which *lye at Rome*, that is, are devoted to the Cause of Popery and the Pretender? A Cause exploded, contemn'd, and forgot almost by every Man amongst us, excepting those; who knowing the Imputation of an Attachment to it, to be the most *universally* obnoxious and *unpopular* Charge which they can bring, are for that Reason sure to use it, as one of the most effectual Means of aspersing the publick Character. And in a true Friend to the present Establishment where is the Reason, where the Gratitude, where the Decency of such a Reflection, that must affect numbers amongst that People which has shewn such a Warmth of uncommon Affection, and unsuspected Attachment to the King, his Family, his Cause, and his Government?

Excuse me, Sir, if I have used too many Words in the Defence of a Negative.

tive, which nothing but your Assertion could have made it necessary to advance, and nothing but its own indubitable Certainty and Notoriety, can render it difficult to maintain. Nor can I think it less evident, that the *Remainder* of the People, according to your Distribution of them (the *Landed Men*) are, perhaps, to a Man, as heartily zealous for preserving the Balance of *Europe*, and in order to that End for restraining the encroaching Power of *France* as yourself, or your most distinguished Friends: Nor in any Degree less assured, that a proper Support of the House of *Austria* is the Means conducive to that important End, what Diversity of Sentiments soever there may be with regard to the Circumstances of the Prosecution of those Means: In which Respect the *Vox Populi* has indeed most loudly, and it is hoped effectually declared its dislike to the Conduct of the great Hero of the *Plain Reasoner*. But as the *Landed Men* are particularly concerned under this Head of your severe Reflections, you will give me Leave

to proceed in my humble Apology in their Behalf.

The History of a *Landed* and a *Money'd* Interest in this Country, distinct from each other, is too modern a one to need explaining. The present Age too well remembers the fatal Policy that so thoroughly effected it, the Future will too late deplore the pernicious Consequences that have so necessarily attended it. This subtle Stratagem, broached soon after the Revolution, and intended to rivet the Wealth of the whole Nation to the Support of the new Settlement, has been very properly compared to the Artifice of *Eumenes*, one of *Alexander's* Captains, who setting up for himself after the Death of his Master, perswaded his principal Officers to lend him great Sums, after which they were forced to follow him for their own Security. Nor was this modern Scheme unlike in its *Reasons*, though executed very differently in its Circumstances, to the old *Gothick* Policy, which secur'd

every new Acquisition by that Distribution of their *feudal* Possessions, which connected the Interest of every Proprietor inseparably to that of the victorious Prince. I would not seem to insinuate, that the Revolution Settlement needed these Arts to support it, which was raised on a much more noble and lasting Foundation. But it seems pretty evident, that the Stratagem was form'd on Precedents, not in themselves the most Generous or Equitable; however, in Fact, the most Politick and Prudential. This wise Method of borrowing Millions upon Funds of Interest, made way for that immense publick Debt, the *Increase* of which (you are so kind as to inform ‡ us) is the most probable, if not the only Means of lessening our Taxes. And it ought to be observed, that the national Blessing thus effected, was of a Nature entirely new; for from the *Conquest* to the *Revolution*, there can be no Instance produced of one *Civil* or *Foreign War*, which left a public Debt after it. The Struggles of the Barons, the

Contests of *York* and *Lancaster*, the civil Distractions in the Time of *Charles I.* how dreadful soever was the Expence of Blood, were attended with none of Money but what circulated at Home, nor ever left the Incumbrance of an After-reckoning. The former Wars with *France* and *Scotland*, that under the Usurpation with *Spain* and *Holland*, that of *Charles II.* with the latter some of them enrich'd, none exhausted, not one left a Debt upon the Kingdom. The Effect of the jobbing Scheme after the Revolution therefore was as great a Novelty as the Cause, and it cannot be wonder'd that the Distinction of the *money'd* from the *landed Interest* of the Nation, of such an Extraction, and so important a Tendency with Respect to the latter, should not yet cease to make very uneasy Impressions on those concerned: Impressions which perhaps your Paradoxes will be ineffectual to remove.

That *our Debts are a Burthen on their Estates sufficient already*, is a Position in which

which the Generality of Mankind may possibly more readily concur with *Kox Populi*, than with any *Gratis Dictum* of yours. But they are grossly in the Wrong to complain of the Increase of the Burthen of publick Debt, and at the same Time to complain of additional Taxes, because the very Weight of that Burthen will produce the Lightning of those Taxes: by still adding to the publick Debt, we shall be in the most ready way to be easier in our Taxes.* Let us unravel this sorry Sophistry, which would persuade us, that the more we owe, the less we shall have to pay. And to do this with all Fairness and Certainty, give me Leave to transcribe your own Paradox and Solution in the following memorable Passage.

‘ Now as to my seeming Paradox, that
 ‘ the Increase of our publick Debts is the
 ‘ most probable, if not the only Means of
 ‘ lessening our Taxes: To render this
 ‘ clear to the meanest Comprehension,

'tis necessary to go a little round about,
 by entering upon an Examination why
 our Taxes are now so high: The Cause
 whereof appears to me to be, by their
 being laid on Commodities that are ne-
 cessarily to pass through many Hands
 before they reach the Consumer, and
 consequently, in effect, pay so many
 different Duties; for 'tis very evident
 that Profit must be made, at the first
 Hand of the Money laid out for Du-
 ties, and that this must increase in Pro-
 portion as it passes through all the rest:
 It follows then, that if those Duties
 were laid on the Consumer, they would
 in their respective Ranks, be only one
 instead of many. The present Objection
 to this Method is two-fold; one on the Part
 of the State, the other on the Part of the
 People: On the Part of the State, they
 don't chuse to bring down the Taxes to the
 Consumer, because of the greater Number
 of Employments in the present Situation in
 the Gift of the ruling Minister; nor do the
 People chuse it, because they conclude it
 must

' must be done by way of Excise, to
 ' which they have such an Aversion, as
 ' is not to be surmounted, but by being
 ' to the last Degree distressed by much
 ' worse Measures. It follows, that nothing
 ' but extreme Necessity can bring the two
 ' Interests to a Point ; and that nothing can
 ' create that Necessity, but such a Burthen
 ' as in the present Situation of Things is
 ' not to be borne ; such Taxes occasioned
 ' by such Debts as our Estates are not in
 ' any Sense able to pay, which by mak-
 ' ing the publick Debts double what they
 ' are now, will be pretty near the Case.
 ' That happening, Necessity will make
 ' both Parties agree, and then the Conse-
 ' quence will be, that ten Millions Taxes
 ' raised on the People, will be nearly so
 ' much to the Use of the State ; but as
 ' it is now, if the State receives ten Mil-
 ' lions, the People pay thirty, in all Du-
 ' ties on an Average, except Land and
 ' Windows. Therefore to pay ten Millions
 ' when the Interest of the publick Debts
 ' are near four Millions, is two Thirds
 ' less

less than when they are but two Millions, and consequently 'tis better to be one hundred Millions in Debt than fifty.

This, I hope, no body will presume to dispute with me, or if they do, 'tis odds but they are worsted in the Argument; since every understanding Man immediately perceives the Force of my Reasons, and they who are ignorant will only expose themselves in the Dispute, and show they are utter Strangers to the Nature, Genius, and Effects of our Taxes, as they are at present disposed and levied, which I would not wish any Man to be, who meddles with them.

Here are several Positions, each of which I admit: as, That if all the Taxes raised on the People were brought to the use of the State, it might afford to release a very large Proportion of what is now levied; That if Taxes were laid on the Con-

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sumer

sumer, they would come more immediately to the publick Use, than they can when they pass through many Hands before they reach him, and are attended with larger Deductions than if they were in another Situation: That no ruling Minister will be very forward to cut off the great Number of Employments in his Gift which are provided for out of those Deductions; and that *Necessity* will make People agree to those Expedients which no other Inducement could prevail on them to have Recourse to. But from which of these Positions do you deduce your Medium, to prove that *the Increase of our publick Debts is the Means of lessening our Taxes?* Is the *Paradox* solved, because Necessity will bring Taxes under a right Regulation, and intollerable Burthen will create even *extreme Necessity?* And do you seriously advise us to push ourselves to that desperate Resort, because Necessity, which knows no Laws, may drive

drive us into good Regulations ? for this seems to be the Conclusion intended. Put the Case in private Life, that a Man with large Incumbrances on his Estate is highly extravagant in his Expences, wou'd you advise that Man to mortgage still deeper, because to be driven to the Brink of utter Ruin will probably open his Eyes to stop the Course of his Extravagance, and save *something* at last, which no other Inducement can prevail on him to attend to ? Would you not think it more eligible in Reason and Prudence, that the heavier the Burthen is already on his Land, the more Cautious he should be of adding to it ; than that he shou'd designedly double or treble it, *in order* to awaken his Senses with the Horror of a Danger that must then be so dreadful and imminent ? What miraculous or what desperate Remedies extream Necessity *may* produce, no Man can say ; what Dangers and what Difficulties *must* attend it, none can doubt.

The *last Degree of Distress* is the Situation
 you so kindly invite us to; a Situation very
 commonly attended with Despair, very rarely
 with Discretion. Pardon therefore those
 plain Understandings, which are incapable of
 relishing the refined Policy of practising
 the worst Oeconomy in order to open a
 Way to the Knowledge of the best; and
 that doubt how far you can be answerable
 that this Improvement in Politicks shall be
 the Result of the Measures you propose
still to add to the publick Debt. Give us
 Leave to view that Addition in a different
 Light, attended with farther Conse-
 quences and farther Hazards, and to ask
 with the judicious and eloquent Writer of
 a celebrated *Dissertation*, 'What will
 ' happen when we have *mortgaged* and
 ' *funded* all we have to *mortgage* and to
 ' *fund*, when we have mortgaged to new
 ' Creditors that sinking Fund which was
 ' mortgaged to other Creditors not yet paid
 ' off?

' off? When we have mortgaged all the
 ' *Product of our Land*, and even our *Land*
 ' *itself*? Who can answer when we come
 ' to *such Extremities*, or have them more
 ' nearly in Prospect" (not barely that
 they will effectually teach us the most sa-
 lutory Regulations, but that) ' *ten Millions*
 ' *of People* will bear any longer to be *Hewers*
 ' *of Wood* and *Drawers of Water* to main-
 ' tain the two hundredth Part of that
 ' Number in Ease and in Plenty? Who
 ' can answer that the *whole Body of the*
 ' *People* will suffer themselves to be treated
 ' in favour of an Handful of Men (for
 ' they who monopolize the whole Power
 ' and may in time monopolize the whole
 ' Property of the Funds, are indeed
 ' but a Handful) who can answer that the
 ' *whole Body of the People* will suffer them-
 ' selves to be treated in favour of such an
 ' Handful, as the poor *Indians* are in favour
 ' of the *Spaniards*; to be parcelled out
 ' in Lots as it were, and to be assigned
 ' like these *Indians* to the *Spanish* Planters
 to

to toil and starve for the *Proprietors of the*
several Funds? Who can answer that a
Scheme, which oppresses the Farmer,
ruins the Manufacturer, breaks the Mer-
chant, discourages Industry, and reduces
Fraud into a System, which beggars so
often the fair Adventurer and Innocent
Proprietor; which draws continually a
Portion of our National Wealth away
to Foreigners, and draws most pernicious-
ly the rest of that immense Property,
that was diffused among thousands, into
the Pockets of a few, who can answer
that such a Scheme will be always en-
dured?

If now the Landed Gentlemen can not
 view with Pleasure the Prospect of an
 expensive Land-War; nor are yet of Opi-
 nion with you, that 'tis better to be one
 hundred Millions in Debt than fifty; if re-
 flecting that the *Dutch* (which you say is
 plain) whether by *Factions or Infatuation, or*
both, come not heartily into our Alliance, they
 are

are willing to try still farther Inducements and Expedients, rather than rush with Madness and Precipitation into the *Distress* you invite them to; where is the Stupidity, where the Infatuation, where the Baseness of Spirit you charge upon them? That *Firmness and Resolution* must make France *sink before us*, they doubt not, but apprehend that true Firmness is much more consistent with a calm and cautious Conduct, the certain and essential Ingredient of sound Policy, than a rash and romantic Eagerness, which is as likely to disconcert our Measures abroad, as sure to discontent the Minds of the People at Home. These, Sir, are some of the Sentiments which have created that national Disgust at the Spirit exerted by your Hero, which you with so much Confidence, Vanity, and Impotence affect to contemn. These we hope will influence the Successors of a certain great Man to proceed consistently with themselves, that is, *nec temere, nec timide*; with Temper, yet with Dignity; with

with Caution, yet with Intrepidity. It is such a Change of Measures which must recommend the Change of Ministers, which, it will be agreed with you, is otherwise *but an Amusement, that lulls us into a too fatal Security.* We are not so entirely deprived of our *Senses* as to believe ‡ (what you say we are *bully'd into*) that every *Ministry* are perpetually in the *Wrong*, and that all *Mankind* who attempt to govern are *Fools and Madmen*; we therefore hope better Things from the present Ministry than what we have blam'd in the past; a Pursuit of the *British* Interest upon true *British* Principles, and such a prudent and effectual Prosecution of the War, as may conduce to the sole justifiable End of it, a speedy, a safe, and an honourable Peace. We flatter ourselves that the *Right Honourable* Gentleman who now presides at the Helm will approve himself by his Conduct there, equal to that Eulogium which was lately in so signal a Manner bestow'd on him in a great Assen-

Assembly, by one whose noble Ardor of Spirit, and all-powerful Charm of Eloquence enables him with such Grace and Dignity to pronounce that *publick Voice*, which you deride and contemn. Let us hope that the Integrity, the Generosity, and the Warmth of publick Spirit, may once be justly imputed to an *English Minister* in the Subject of his Applause, which distinguished the younger *Cato*, of whom it was said, *that he engaged himself in the Affairs of State not for Honour or Riches; nor rashly, nor by chance, but he undertook the Service of the Publick as the proper Business of an honest Man; and therefore thought himself obliged to be as diligent for the Good of that, as a Bee for the Preservation of her Hive?*

The Colours of this Description may possibly glare too strongly in some Eyes: but Publick Virtues of such a Stamp are as superior to the Strokes of Language, as to those of Detraction. May the amiable

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Character which they form, be the standing Model of ministerial Accomplishment ! There is Piety in the Prayer, tho' there be Flattery in the Hope. I must confess that I have met with very different Plans, many of which perhaps are better suited to the Refinements of modern Policy, and one of which is too remarkable not to be particularly remember'd. ' I can imagine (says the noble Author of the *Characteristics*) ' a noted Friend to Liberty--wrought ' to seek Court-Preferment ; and this too ' under a *Patriot* Character. But having ' perhaps try'd this Way with less Success, ' he is obliged to change his Character, ' and become a *royal Flatterer*, a Courtier ' *against his Nature* ; submitting himself ' and suing in so much the meaner Degree, ' as his inherent Principles are well known ' at Court, and to his new-adopted Party, ' to whom he feigns himself a *Profelyte*.

' The greater the *Genius* or *Character* is ' of such a Person, the greater is his Sla-

very,

' very, and heavier his Load. Better had
 ' it been that he had never discovered a
 ' Zeal for publick Good, or signalized
 ' himself in that Party, which can with
 ' least Grace make Sacrifices of NATIONAL
 ' INTERESTS to a *Crown*, or to the *private*
 ' Will, Appetite, or Pleasure of a *Prince*;
 ' For supposing such a *Genius* as this had
 ' been to act his Part of Courtship in some
 ' foreign and absolute Court, how much
 ' less infamous wou'd his Part have prov-
 ' ed? How much less slavish amidst a
 ' People who were *all* Slaves? Had he
 ' peradventure been one of that forlorn
 ' begging Troop of Gentry extant in
 ' *Denmark* or *Sweden*, since the Time
 ' that those Nations lost their Liberties;
 ' had he lived out of a free Nation and hap-
 ' pily-balanc'd Constitution; had he been
 ' either conscious of no *Talents* in the
 ' *Affairs of Government*, or of no Oppor-
 ' tunity to exert any such to the Advan-
 ' tage of Mankind; where had been the
 ' mighty Shame, if perhaps he had em-

' ployed some of his *Abilities* in *flattering*
 ' like others, and paying the necessary Ho-
 ' mage requir'd for Safety's Sake, and Self-
 ' preservation, in absolute and despotick
 ' Governments? The Taste perhaps, in
 ' Strictness, might be still *wrong*, even in
 ' this hard Circumstance: but how in-
 ' excusable in a quite contrary one! For
 ' let us suppose our Courtier not only an
 ' *Englishman*, but of the Rank and Stem
 ' of those Old *English* Patriots who were
 ' wont to curb the Licentiousness of our
 ' Court, *arraign its Flatterers*, and purge
 ' away those Poisons from the Ear of
 ' Princes: Let us suppose him of a com-
 ' petent Fortune and moderate Appetites,
 ' without any apparent *Luxury* or *Lavish-*
 ' *ment* in his Manners: What shall we
 ' after this bring in Excuse for such a
 ' *Choice* as his? How shall we explain this
 ' preposterous Relish, this odd Preference
 ' of *Subtlety* and *Indirectness*, to true Wis-
 ' dom, open *Honesty* and *Uprightness*?

Let

Let me not seem, in presenting you a Picture drawn by so exquisite a Master, and adding his own Reflections on it, to insinuate any invidious Parallel. And do you beware, Sir, of making an Application for me, which may confine that Character to *any* one Man, how *strong* a *Similarity* soever may *strike* you, which too many have a Claim to.

You will forgive me, Sir, if I am more tender in reflecting on the Persons of Statesmen, than yourself on the Body of a People, and if having offered what naturally occur'd to me in Vindication of the National Genius and Character from your Aspersions, I do not conceive myself any farther engaged to follow you in Points not conducive to the End I proposed, and perhaps already anticipated by others. How far your Charges on the Publick are refuted, the Publick in spite of your Con-
tempt

tempt for it, must and will judge : how far the Vein of your Reasoning is affected by any such Refutation, the same Authority must determine. I can clearly see, and sincerely lament, that we are much more in *Face Romuli* than in *Republica Platonis* ; though I by no Means admit *nine Tenths* of the People to be *Gudgeons*, and the residue *Fools, Jacobites* and *Bubbles*. I am not therefore possessed with a Spirit of national Bigottry, how warm an Advocate soever I may affect to be for the national Character ; and one general Reflection of yours I shall most readily admit, and beg Leave to recommend it to the particular Consideration of the Readers, and the *Admirers* of the *Plain Reasoner*. It is the following one : *Impudence is the common Attribute of all Nations, and there always will be some People in each who glory in it.* — *And as it is not difficult to find People of all Ranks, who either thro' Ignorance or Distrust of themselves, receive tacitly the Dictates*

*tates of the Over-bearing, so as long as Impudence subsists, it will be attended by a Train of Admirers.**

Though I have not the Honour to be amongst the Train of *your* Admirers, am yet, SIR,

Your most Humble Servant.

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of the Government, it will be attended by a
Committee of Administration.

Though I have not the Honour to be
amongst the Train of your Admiralty,
yet, Sir,
Your most humble servant.

